



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 15 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 14

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 4/5/76	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 3/29/76
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY jat
		CHARACTER OF CASE E1	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] 10/30/75.

- RUC -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being disseminated locally to U.S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N.C.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

All BPP members mentioned in this report have been [REDACTED]

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N.C., was conducted by SA [REDACTED]

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED *EB* SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

(11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8)

1 - U.S. Secret Service,
Charlotte, N.C.

2 - San Francisco (157-1204)

1 - Charlotte (157-6171)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

105-165706-8-760

21 APR 9 1976

REC-54

EX-104

Dissemination Record of Attached Report	
Agency	ICC-CI(155)
Request Recd.	ICC-USSS
Date Fwd.	ICC-403/JEH
How Fwd.	7cc DESTROYED
	JFC: mps 4/20/76
	105

Notations

COVER PAGE

Investigative period reflected by this report includes only that time necessary for file review and preparation of the report.

For the sake of brevity and to avoid duplication, information concerning travel, activity and publication of activity on the part of LARRY LITTLE, former member of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N.C., is not being set out in the BPP organizational report under travel by BPP members and BPP political activity [REDACTED]

This matter is being placed in an RUC status within the Charlotte Division in view of the fact that activity on the part of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N.C., has been non-violent in nature and no information has been received indicating the BPP maintains or has maintained in the past fortifications or weapons. Additionally, no information has been received indicating support for or control by the BPP in Winston-Salem, N.C., from its national headquarters in Oakland, Calif. It should be noted that information in the past indicated that national headquarters of the BPP had requested the BPP in Winston-Salem, N.C., to close down and members come to national headquarters, however, the Winston-Salem unit refused to comply with instructions from national headquarters. At the present time, no BPP sponsored activities are functional in Winston-Salem and LARRY LITTLE, former leader of the BPP, since its inception in Winston-Salem, N.C., is no longer associated with the unit and BPP has no means of support other than the sale of BPP newspapers. The BPP in Winston-Salem does not present any real or imagined current threat to the security of the country and individual members of the BPP in Winston-Salem at the present time have been contacted by the FBI in the past for purposes of interview and no productive results have been obtained. No BPP individual case files are presently in a pending status at the Charlotte Division at the present time. [REDACTED]

CE 157-0171

INFORMANTS:

Identity

[REDACTED]

Location

[REDACTED]

C*
COVER PAGE

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(5) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

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105-165706-8-760 page D*

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N.C.

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE
Date: 4/5/76

Field Office File #: 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: Headquarters of the N.C. Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 N. Patterson Ave., Winston-Salem, N.C., and is under the direct leadership of CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER. Information concerning past arrests and convictions, community activities, finances, weapons and fortifications set out in this report.

- RUC -

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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DETAILS:

I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached as an appendix to this report.)

A. LOCATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HEADQUARTERS

The North Carolina Chapter of the BPP is presently located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The headquarters itself continues to be a two-story frame residence painted blue with black trim and is situated in a predominantly Black residential neighborhood.)

CE T-1, March 29, 1976

B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

CHARLES RAY ~~X~~ZOLLIFFER Leader, BPP
MARIE MOORE Secretary and Treasurer

Membership totals are as follows:

Assigned	Six
In jail	Two
Total active in Charlotte Division	Four
Community Workers	None

[REDACTED]

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

The Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP no longer operates 1106-D East 19th Street, Winston-Salem, N.C., as a BPP pad in view of the fact that the party's finances no longer allow the luxury of a second location. All activity is now conducted out of the headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

[REDACTED]


D. FINANCES

Funding for the BPP is dependent almost totally from donations from the general public and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. The newspaper, itself, which has in the past been a constant source of revenue, has dwindled considerably and the party membership generally sells fewer than 100 copies of the newspaper per month.

Donations to the Party in the past have come from churches and individual contributions by persons who have benefited from the BPP Free Ambulance Service. These donations have varied in amounts, however, generally funds were obtained a few dollars at a time. In view of the fact that the Free Ambulance Service has been discontinued in view of the lack of funds, the Party no longer receives donations through the ambulance service.

The newspaper, The Black Panther, sells for 25¢ a copy and half the proceeds from the newspaper sales are forwarded to the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. The additional monies which are retained at the BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem have been necessary for payment of rent and utilities at the Headquarters and no funds have been available for payment of officers for their services. BPP has previously received funds from the National Episcopal Church and last received a \$5,000 gift for continuation of the BPP's Free Ambulance Service, however, these funds were used for insurance purposes and there is no indication that any funds will be furnished to the Panthers in the future in view of the lack of community support, lack of membership, and disinterest on the part of the National Episcopal Church.

Vehicles presently in use by the BPP including the free ambulance are all in need of repairs and the BPP has no funds for expenditures to repair vehicles for use in the future.



II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ACTIVITIES

1. ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

~~STANFORD~~ LILLEY and ~~RANDOLPH~~ JENNINGS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three" continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDRC) and serving seven to ten year sentences as a result of their convictions for Assault With a Deadly Weapon With Intent to Kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina. //

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three" was paroled on March 4, 1974, and no longer serving an active sentence and is no longer associated with the BPP.

2. LARRY LITTLE

LARRY DONNELLY LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on the charge of Carrying a Concealed Weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident when LITTLE was observed by a Forsyth County Deputy Sheriff at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other pending cases in Federal Court. To date, the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial. ✓

h

[

B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Free Clothing Program is not operational. .

Free Pest Control Program is not operational. .

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is not operational. .

[REDACTED]

C. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS

The BPP has continued to create and maintain an image of nonviolence and in that regard, the BPP membership at no time has been observed displaying any weapons or maintaining any weapons at BPP Headquarters. Additionally, no efforts have been made to fortify the Headquarters in any way nor has any information been received indicating there are weapons maintained or have fortifications been installed at BPP Headquarters. U

Additionally, no information has been received indicating that the BPP membership is in possession of any materials which could be utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices nor is there information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons.

[REDACTED]

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 10/30/75	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 10/28-30/75
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY pbh
		CHARACTER OF CASE ELI	

REFERENCES: Bureau airtel to Charlotte and other offices, 8/11/75.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

A copy of this report is being disseminated locally to U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Copies of FD-376 attached.

Investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was conducted by SA **[REDACTED]**

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	PRETRIAL DIVERSION	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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105-165706-8-759

REC-53

(11 - Bureau (105-165706 Sub 8)

1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

2 - San Francisco (157-1204)

2 - Charlotte (157-6171)

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	
ICC-SS				[REDACTED] 759
ICC-SS				
ICC-4084				
7cc-D				

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CE 157-6171

Investigative period reflected by this report includes only that time necessary for file review and preparation of the report.

For the sake of brevity and to avoid duplication, information concerning travel and activity on the part of LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP, is not being set out in the BPP organizational report under travel by BPP members and BPP political activity as all information concerning LARRY LITTLE is [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS:

Identity

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEADS

CHARLOTTE DIVISION

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will continue to follow and report activities of BPP, Winston-Salem, N. C.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Copy to: 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CHARLOTTE
Date: 10/30/75

Field Office File #: 157-6171 Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character: EXTREMIST MATTER

Synopsis: Headquarters of the N. C. Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is located at 1333 N. Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C., and is under the direct leadership of LARRY DONNELLY LITTLE, Political Affairs Director. Information concerning past arrests and convictions, community activities, finances and weapons and fortifications set out in this report. ()

- P -

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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2. JOSEPH WADDELL'S PEOPLES FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE	6
3. JO ANN LITTLE MOVEMENT	8
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I. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL DATA

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A. LOCATION OF NORTH CAROLINA HEADQUARTERS

The North Carolina Chapter of the BPP is presently located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. The headquarters itself continues to be a two-story frame residence painted blue with black trim and is situated in a predominantly black residential neighborhood. . .

B. OFFICERS AND MEMBERSHIP

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE	Political Affairs Director and Leader, in fact, of BPP
NELSON MALLOY, JR.	Titler head of the BPP and Director of Free Ambulance Program
MARIE MOORE	Secretary and Treasurer
CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER	Director of Publications and Distribution


Membership totals are as follows:

Assigned	Seven
In jail	Two
Total active in Charlotte Division	Six
Community Workers	Five (estimated)

C. PADS

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina



D. FINANCES

Funding for the BPP is dependent almost totally from donations from the general public and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. The newspaper, itself, which has in the past been a constant source of revenue, has dwindled considerably and the party membership generally sells fewer than 200 copies of the newspaper per month.

Donations to the Party have regularly come from area churches and from individual contributions by persons who have benefited from the BPP Free Ambulance Service. These donations vary in amounts; however, generally funds are obtained a few dollars at a time.

Additionally, donations to the Party have also come from individuals supporting the Jo Ann Little movement which evolved in the Winston-Salem area during the spring and summer of 1975 as a result of an ongoing investigation and subsequent trial being held in Raleigh, North Carolina, during August, 1975, at which time JO ANN LITTLE, a Negro female, was charged with the murder of a white Beaufort County Jailer and subsequently acquitted in that trial.


The newspaper, The Black Panther, sells for 25¢ a copy and half the proceeds from the newspaper sales are forwarded to the BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California. Proceeds from donations are regularly spent on gas and oil and upkeep for the BPP ambulance and other vehicles as well as maintaining headquarters and also for payment to BPP officers for their expenses.

In view of the shortage of funds and the almost complete turnover in funding on a monthly basis, the BPP operates on a strictly cash basis. The cash box is maintained at the BPP Headquarters under the control of LARRY LITTLE, Leader of the BPP.

BPP members are generally unemployed and devote their full time and energy to BPP-sponsored programs. However, from time to time BPP members are encouraged to obtain part-time employment in order to fund the generally depleted revenues of the Party itself and to assist in the funding of the ambulance service.

During this reporting period, the BPP received \$5,000 from the National Episcopal Church as a gift for the continuation of the BPP Free Ambulance Service; however, these funds went for insurance purposes which were already past due and allowed for the continuation of the Ambulance Service without any further benefits.

The BPP has attempted to obtain additional funding through means such as benefit shows and publicity campaigns; however, to date none of these programs have been effective. The Ambulance Program on occasion has been "temporarily suspended" due to the lack of funds.



Continuation of BPP Organization

II. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) ACTIVITIES

A. ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS

BRADFORD LILLEY and RANDOLPH JENNINGS, two of three members of the BPP identified as "The High Point Three" continue to be incarcerated in the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC) and serving seven to ten year sentences as a result of their convictions for Assault With a Deadly Weapon With Intent to Kill on February 4, 1972, in High Point, North Carolina.

LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three" was paroled on March 4, 1974, and is no longer serving an active sentence and is no longer associated with the BPP.

[REDACTED]

2. LARRY LITTLE

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE was scheduled to be tried in Forsyth County Superior Court, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, during the October, 1973, term on the charge of Carrying a Concealed Weapon. This charge stemmed from a January, 1971, incident, when LITTLE was observed by a Forsyth County Deputy Sheriff at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to be carrying a .38 caliber pistol. The trial was postponed indefinitely as LITTLE's attorney had other cases pending in Federal Court. To date the LITTLE matter has not gone to trial.

[REDACTED]

B. COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

1. FREE PROGRAMS

Free Clothing Program is not operational.

Free Pest Control Program is not operational.

Free Breakfast for Children Program is not operational.

George Jackson Liberation School is not operational.

Free Ambulance Program is presently operational. U

Member of [REDACTED] Organization

2. JOSEPH WADDELL's PEOPLES FREE AMBULANCE SERVICE

The BPP, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, having successfully established a Peoples Free Ambulance Service

in January of 1974, have continued to operate that ambulance service on an erratic and sometime limited basis since that time. The ambulance itself, in theory, operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and is dispatched through the Forsyth County Central Dispatch Office which also controls the County operated ambulance service. The BPP ambulance charges no fee but will accept a donation from anyone that it picks up and operates primarily in the black sections of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. U

The ambulance program, initially organized and established by NELSON MALLOY, JR., who is Titler head of the Black Panther Party, is continued to be directed by MALLOY who supervises all the ambulance work and maintains drivers and technicians. Obtaining necessary manpower has continued to be a problem for the BPP as a driver and a technician is required in the ambulance at all times; however, individuals willing to donate their time to the ambulance service without pay are extremely limited and the result has been that a few individuals operate long hours in order to maintain the service. MALLOY often functions as a driver or technician and relieves other BPP members who also function in dual roles in order to keep the ambulance service going. U


In addition to lack of manpower, the Free Ambulance Service also suffers from a severe lack of funds due to decreased sale in the BPP newspaper as well as a lessening in donations and due to the fact that LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP, continued through the reporting period to support the Jo Ann Little Movement and had little interest in the Free Ambulance Service. U

During the reporting period, the ambulance service was often grounded due to mechanical failures and lack of funds in order to make necessary repairs and also on one occasion was grounded due to the fact the BPP had failed to make necessary insurance payments on the vehicle. Although limited funds were furnished by the National Episcopal Church of New York, New York, these funds have been depleted and Panther members continue to seek donations from area churches, businesses and community leaders. The Free Ambulance Service also obtains donations from individuals that the ambulance transports to and from local hospitals.

CE 157-6171

To date, no additional plans have begun to house the ambulance in a garage facility behind BPP Headquarters as the building has not been built and there is no indication that it will be built in the foreseeable future. ()

Community support for the ambulance service has not been as strong as in the past due to some publicity and that regard is a result of the ambulance traveling at excessive speed with and/or without the emergency lights blinking when the ambulance was not on an emergency run. The BPP has also been criticized for using the ambulance () for personal business of BPP members.



3. JO ANN LITTLE MOVEMENT

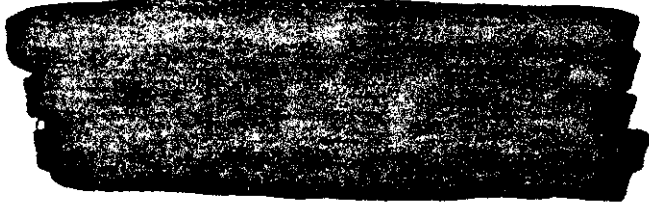
During this reporting period, JO ANN LITTLE, a black female, confined in the Beaufort County Jail, Beaufort County, North Carolina, was accused of murdering the Jailer, a white male, as a means of effecting her escape from that institution. JO ANN LITTLE claimed the jailer had attempted to rape her and she had only defended herself. A trial was subsequently held at Raleigh, North Carolina, during August, 1975, at which time national attention was brought there on the result of the trial as a result of a public campaign directed by LARRY LITTLE, leader of the BPP and other black leaders who charged that LITTLE would have never been brought to trial had it been a white woman. Trial ended in the acquittal of LITTLE and LITTLE has subsequently begun a speaking tour on behalf of black women's rights. ()

Members of the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, participated in the efforts to dramatize the trial proceedings at Raleigh, North Carolina, and under the direction of LARRY LITTLE, traveled in the eastern part of North Carolina building support for the movement. BPP members additionally assisted

in obtaining transportation for interested citizens to attend the trial in Raleigh, North Carolina, and additionally, led public demonstrations in Winston-Salem during the trial proceedings in support for JO ANN LITTLE.!!

JO ANN LITTLE appeared at public demonstrations as well as support rallies on her behalf throughout North Carolina including a rally in April, 1975, at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, sponsored by the BPP.


Funds for JO ANN LITTLE were solicited by BPP members in North Carolina, particularly Winston-Salem, and funds obtained through donations for the continuation of the BPP Free Ambulance Service were diverted toward the JO ANN LITTLE trial.



C. WEAPONS AND FORTIFICATIONS

The BPP continued during this reporting period to create and maintain an image of nonviolence and in that regard, the BPP membership at no time has been observed displaying any weapons or maintaining any weapons at BPP Headquarters, 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Additionally, no efforts have been made to fortify the Headquarters in any way nor has any information been received indicating that there are weapons maintained or have fortifications been installed at the BPP and located at 1106-D East 10th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. ()

Additionally, no information has been received indicating that the BPP membership is in possession of any materials which could be utilized to manufacture explosive items or incendiary devices nor is there information indicating that the BPP has access to a stockpile of weapons.



APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM

DATE: 9/8/75

Re Charlotte letter to Bureau 7/28/75.

[REDACTED]

No additional information has been developed from informants or newspaper sources concerning the theft of the report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 3/26/73, concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER.

This matter concerning the theft of the FBI report of SA LOWE was discussed in detail with AUSA BENJAMIN H. WHITE, JR. on 8/28/75. Mr. WHITE indicated that he would decline prosecution since it would be questionable as to whether prosecution could ever be effected in view of the overall circumstances involved in this case. His declination of prosecution was confirmed in writing. (1)

105-165706-8-758

As indicated in the referenced communication, efforts are continuing to cultivate the Winston-Salem Journal in order to develop a favorable rapport which would preclude any future publication of our documents. Since the date of the publication of information concerning SA LOWE's report, no unfavorable articles concerning the FBI have appeared in this newspaper.

(2) - Bureau
(3) - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)

JDK:cbw
(5)



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SEP 10 1975

EPYD
1571

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-50)

DATE: 9/4/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
HEATON FACTION
NEW YORK DIVISION COMMUNICATIONS -
TELEPHONE RECORDS
EIU - BPT

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re New York letters to Bureau, 4/17/75 and 8/18/75.

For the information of the New York Division, telephone number 919-724-3951 [REDACTED] is subscribed to by the Black Panther Party's sponsored Free Ambulance Service, which is headquartered at Black Panther Party Headquarters in Winston-Salem, N. C., 1333 North Patterson Avenue, Winston-Salem, N. C. The number is a publicly listed number and the telephone is answered as Black Panther Party Free Ambulance Service.

REC-2

105-165706-8-757

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-161993)
- 1 - San Francisco (157-1534) (info)
- 2 - Charlotte

STL:pbl
(7)

1 SEP 9 1975



5010-110

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

DATE: 7/28/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EM

ReBulet to Charlotte dated 6/13/75.

In an effort to develop additional information concerning the theft of the report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 3/26/73, continuous contact has been maintained with logical sources without developing any significant data. The only outstanding investigation remaining involves the interview of

[REDACTED] The Bureau is in receipt of all pertinent background.

Charlotte has considered interviewing HOWARD CARR, reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal, and also contacting the publisher and managing editor for this newspaper. However, it is believed that this could result in possible embarrassment to the Bureau as well as further publication of this entire matter. In addition, these newspaper officials might seriously question our interest in view of the time lapse. Further, since the Winston-Salem Journal has shown a policy of partiality in their articles dealing with the Black Panther Party (BPP) local chapter, this might well serve as an opportunity to show FBI harassment of the BPP.

Since this article involving SA LOWE's report was published in February, 1975, the Winston-Salem Journal has given the FBI some favorable publicity and to date there have been no unfavorable articles. Attempts are continuing to cultivate this newspaper in order to develop a more advantageous position with regard to the FBI which, if successful, would preclude any future publication of FBI documents. Further, since it is questionable that information developed from this newspaper may prove useful in any prosecution of the theft of government property, Charlotte is not recommending any direct approach with either the reporter or newspaper officials.

105-165706-8-756

2 - Bureau
2 - Charlotte

7 JUL 29



5010-110

JPK:cbw
(4)

FIVE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-6171

Upon receipt of the results of the U. S. Army's interview with enlisted man [REDACTED] presently on active duty at [REDACTED] this matter will be presented to the U. S. Attorney for prosecutive opinion.)

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

6 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
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105-165706-8-755

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X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
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- 1 - Legal Couns Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
- 1 - External Affairs Division

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

6/13/75

EX 103

Director, FBI (105-165706)-8-754
REC-56

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

ReBuairtel 3/19/75 and BAairtel 4/28/75.

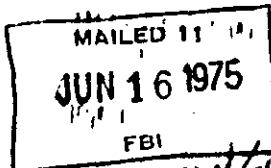
Enclosed for Charlotte are copies of documents from the files of the United States Army Crime Records Directorate (USACRD), and Defense Investigative Service (DIS), Fort Holabird, Maryland. From review of Baltimore airtel it may be seen that further efforts to substantiate dissemination or reproduction of the FBI report on Charles Zollicoffer maintained by the Army would not be productive. According to officials at Fort Meade, [REDACTED] would at no time have authority to review investigative records concerning himself and investigative reports such as those enclosed would not be placed in personnel records which accompany him to various duty stations.

[REDACTED]

In the interim you should complete any pending investigation underway in this matter and consider the following prior to presentation of the possible theft of Government property matter to the United States Attorney: Although reporter Howard Carr of the Winston-Salem Journal, in order

Enclosures (9)

WDF:mod
(10)



SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

GPO

Letter to Charlotte
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-165706

to protect his sources, may not desire to furnish the identity of the individual from whom he received the FBI report, he may respond to questions regarding the possible theft of the report which is Government property. Charlotte should weigh the pros and cons of attempting such interview along with feasibility, based upon current relations, of contacting someone in a management position at the newspaper for possible assistance in this matter.

Submit for FBIHQ approval, your recommended course of action along with results of any additional investigation conducted since receipt of referenced Bureau airtel. It is emphasized that you should make every effort through informants to disclose details as to how members of the BPP in Charlotte came into possession of the FBI report.

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to Mr. [REDACTED]
dated 6/11/75, and prepared by WDF:mod.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Legal Counsel Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
(Attn: Mr. [REDACTED])

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Legal Coun. _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO : Mr. [REDACTED]

FROM : [REDACTED] 6/11/75

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

- DATE: 6/11/75
- 1 - External Affairs Division
(Attn: [REDACTED])
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
 - 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

PURPOSE:

To recommend interview of [REDACTED] through our Liaison Section relative to his knowledge of where a Winston-Salem Journal reporter obtained a copy of an FBI report on [REDACTED] dated 2/26/73; and to recommend approval of attached letter to Charlotte with instructions regarding remaining investigation in this matter.

BACKGROUND:

Memorandum to Mr. [REDACTED] 7/75 set forth fact that the above report captioned "Charles Ray Zollicoffer, EM-BPP," written by SA Zachary T. Lowe, had apparently fallen into the hands of a reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal and portions of the report were quoted in the 2/14/75 edition of that newspaper. Disseminated copies of the report have been accounted for; however, it was determined that an additional copy of the report was furnished Army prior to the entry [REDACTED] Charlotte informants have advised that the report or a copy of it was furnished to the Winston-Salem Journal by unknown individuals associated with the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Charlotte and from comments made, apparently Charles Zollicoffer had seen the report. Above memorandum allowed for [REDACTED] had access to the report [REDACTED]

Enclosures

WDF:mod,
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

REC-56

105-165706-8-754 JUN 24 1975

Memorandum to [REDACTED]
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)

PRESENT SITUATION AND OBSERVATIONS:

[REDACTED]

While the reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal possibly would not desire to reveal the source of his information or method of access to the FBI report, he may respond to questioning regarding the possible theft of Government property violation in which he could be involved. Recommendations of SAC, Charlotte, are called for regarding such an interview as well as the SAC's recommendations concerning contact with someone in a management position at the Winston-Salem Journal with whom relations appear to be cordial. It further appears that interview of James Zollicoffer, interview of the reporter and/or the management level of the newspaper and resolution of any other outstanding investigation to determine the leak of the document should be conducted, prior to the entire matter being presented to the United States Attorney for a prosecutive opinion relative to a violation of Title 18, Section 641, Theft of Government Property.

This matter has been coordinated with Supervisor [REDACTED] of the General Investigative Division and with Supervisor [REDACTED] of the External Affairs Division. J

SEE RECOMMENDATIONS PAGE 3

Memorandum to [REDACTED]
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)

RECOMMENDATIONS:

2. That attached letter be approved and sent to
SAC, Charlotte.

WF *unin*

RECEIVED

6/1

John



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
May 28, 1975

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
LUMBERTON, NORTH CAROLINA
(Bureau File: 157-)
(Charlotte File: 157-9763)
CHARACTERIZATION OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION
EXTREMIST MATTER

RUSSELL EDWARD McDONALD and his wife, MARY KATHERINE McDONALD, established an independent organization on February 20, 1974, in Lumberton, North Carolina, known as the Black Panther Party (BPP). McDONALD and his wife are former members of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Chapter of the BPP which has its National Headquarters in Oakland, California, but this BPP organization in Lumberton has no connection with that organization, nor with any other organization. ()

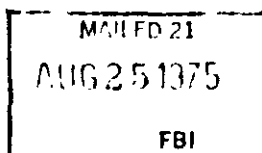
The purpose of this BPP is to enable Blacks to obtain greater economic leverage and more power in the Lumberton, North Carolina, area. .1

This organization became defunct in the Summer of 1974.

The BPP with headquarters in Oakland, California, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. In 1973, its leader publicly stated that the chief ambition of the BPP is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence. ()

(Source is [REDACTED])

(Source has furnished reliable information in the past.)



APPROVED

Date

AUG 26 1975
143

Dir
BPP

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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F B I

Date: 4/4/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: *G/R* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 1/8/75.

PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by Organization and Status

The Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
 Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. *U*

Membership

RLC-22 105-165706-8-752
 Assigned 9
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned Else-
 where 2
 Total Active in Charlotte
 Division 5

16 APR 8 1975

Community Workers

15 (estimated)

2-1-6
 2 - Bureau (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2 - Charlotte
 ZTL:stp
 (6)

FIVE

Approved: _____
 50 APR 23 1975 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Leadership

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.
Field Lieutenant

LARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Director of Public Relations

CHARLES ZOLLIFFER
Director of the Free Ambulance Program

MARIE MOORE
Treasurer and Secretary; Second in Command

BPP Pads

1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Community Activities

A. Free Clothing Program

Not Operational

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not Operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not Operational

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

D. George Jackson Liberation School

Not Operational ()

E. Free Ambulance Program

Limited Operation ()

Arrests and Convictions

Two of three members of the BPP at High Point, N. C., known as "The High Point Three," and serving jail terms in the State of North Carolina, from 7 to 10 years resulting from their convictions on charges of being armed with a deadly weapon, continue to remain in jail, however, it is anticipated that SAMMY LEE CARTER will be paroled in the near future. LARRY MEDLEY, the third member of "The High Point Three," was paroled from the North Carolina Department of Correction (NCDC) effective 3/6/74. ()

Finances

Funding for the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to remain solely dependent upon donations from the community and from the sale of the BPP newspaper. Both these sources of income, however, are extremely limited, and during January, February, and March, 1975, sufficient funding was not available to provide continuous ambulance service. ()

As a result of an earlier contact by LARRY LITTLE with the National Episcopal Church in New York City during November through December, 1974, the BPP has been awarded an additional grant of \$5,000 from that institution, and these funds are supposedly to be used for insurance purposes on the ambulance which is approximately \$4,400 annually. ()

3

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

The ambulance service has been interrupted continuously during this period as a result of costly repairs, and funds are not available to meet all bills incurred. ✓

At the present time, the Ambulance Program is not operational. However, the program has been operative during the reporting period, and sources indicate the BPP is determined to keep the program going if only on a limited basis. ✓

PART II

The following is a summary of the BPP activities in the Charlotte Division for the months of January, February, and March, 1975: ✓

The BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to maintain headquarters at 1333 North Patterson Avenue in Winston-Salem, and Panther members continue to reside at 1106-D East 19th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C., regarded as a BPP pad. ✓

During this period, BEATRICE FULTON, the Party's Secretary, became less active and is no longer the Secretary for the BPP, and those duties have been taken over by MARIE MOORE. ✓

During this period, the BPP, under the leadership of LARRY LITTLE as the Director of Public Relations, seized upon the popular quote, "Free JOANN LITTLE," cause in North Carolina. JOANN LITTLE, a black female from Beaufort County, N. C., has been charged with the murder of a Beaufort County Jailor while she was a prisoner in the Beaufort County Jail during August, 1974. Black organizations and others are charging JOANN LITTLE (no relation to LARRY LITTLE) was the victim of a sexual attack by the jailor, and if she had been a white woman, no charges would have been made as she had the right to defend herself. LARRY LITTLE has been placed in

4

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

charge of a state-wide publicity campaign on her behalf, and is actively seeking support for and donations to the "Free JOANN LITTLE Movement." U

The BPP assisted in the sponsorship of a rally on 4/3/75 at Winston-Salem, N. C., attended by JOANN LITTLE and others which resulted in extensive publicity in the Winston-Salem area. Donations, however, received during the rally amounted to less than \$700. U

The BPP's support for the rights of black women to defend themselves from white men in reference to JOANN LITTLE has resulted in increased sympathizers and community workers. However, it is anticipated these newcomers will be limited in duration and are primarily interested in JOANN LITTLE's upcoming April, 1975, trial. U

As a result of the BPP's attention to the JOANN LITTLE matter, the Free Ambulance Program again is without support or funds and will not be operational until after the trial of JOANN LITTLE. U

5

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 4/1/75

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(OO: CHARLOTTE)

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an investigative summary. Two copies of FD-376 attached.

Copies of investigative summary being disseminated to Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C.; and INS, Norfolk, Virginia, in view of subject's alien status.

Subject does not meet ADEX criteria.

The following have been identified as relatives of the subject:

Wife: [REDACTED]

Father: [REDACTED]

Mother: [REDACTED]

REC-89

105-165706-8-751

2 - Bureau (Encl-5)
1 - Charlotte

RRG:gs
(3)

4/24/75

105-165706-8-751

105-165706-8-751

105-165706-8-751



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-751 page 2

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***In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.***

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

April 1, 1975

INVESTIGATIVE SUMMARY

EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

This investigation is based on information which indicates that [REDACTED] in view of his affiliation with the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix), is engaged in activities which could involve a violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 2383 (Rebellion or Insurrection), 2384 (Seditious Conspiracy), or 2385 (Advocating the Overthrow of the United States Government).

[redacted] advised an Agent of the FBI that he has read about the BPP in the newspaper but has never discussed the BPP or politics with any individual in this country. He stated he is aware of the rules relating to [redacted] employees and has never assisted [redacted]

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly-stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution. BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

Despite its claimed dedication to community service, indicators of the BPP's continued attraction to violence persist. Since July, 1974, Newton and other BPP members have been arrested in Oakland, California, for threatening police officers, murder of a 17-year old female and the pistol whipping of Newton's tailor. Newton failed to appear on these charges and is now a local fugitive. Additionally, one died and three were wounded as a result of a shooting at a BPP-sponsored dance in Oakland, California, in October, 1974.

FBI

Date: 3/4/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

ReBuAirtel 2/27/75.

Enclosed is a copy of an article captioned, "Hoover Would Have Been Proud" which appeared in the Winston-Salem Journal on 2/16/75, and a copy of Director KELLEY's letter to Mr. JOE DOSTER, Managing Editor, Winston-Salem Journal, dated 2/27/75.

For the information of FBIHQ, Mr. CHARLES W. CROWDER is Vice President, General Manager, and Publisher, and Mr. JOE DOSTER is Managing Editor of the Winston-Salem Journal. Charlotte indices contain no record for either Mr. CROWDER or Mr. DOSTER. Charlotte indices contain no references identifiable with HOWARD CARR, author of the article captioned, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers", which appeared in the 2/14 issue of that newspaper. There is one reference in Charlotte files concerning a [REDACTED] who requested information concerning our Top Ten Fugitive Program by letter dated 8/25/72, at the time he was a student at the [REDACTED]. At the present time Charlotte enjoys cordial relations with this newspaper and a good working relationship exists with several of the staff reporters. Charlotte has not had occasion to contact the management level of this newspaper and our rapport on this level is unknown. ¹ RFG-71

2 - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE
 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)

JPK:cbw
 (5)

1 MAR 6 1975

Approved: [Signature]
 57 APR 10 1975
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

A review of the Charlotte file dealing with our press relations with the Winston-Salem Journal indicates that in general this newspaper has published some very favorable articles concerning the FBI as recently evidenced in attached copy of an article which was most complimentary. It is to be noted that as a result of this latter article, the Director by letter dated 2/27/75, expressed his appreciation for this favorable item appearing in the 2/16/75, edition of their Sunday newspaper. There had been some unfavorable items directed toward our former Director, Mr. HOOVER, over the past years and there also have been some very complimentary articles concerning Mr. HOOVER. In general, our relationship would appear to be amiable for the last several years and there has been no criticism of the Bureau appearing in this newspaper.

It should be pointed out that this newspaper has published several items which have presented the Winston-Salem Chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in a very favorable fashion. The Free Ambulance Service operated by the Winston-Salem BPP Chapter has been praised in several articles over the past year. An editorial appeared last fall concerning LARRY DONNELL LITTLE, leader of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP, which was very complimentary and expressed regret inasmuch as he was leaving the area at that time. LITTLE is [REDACTED] The policy of the newspaper for some time indicates a hospitable attitude toward the BPP which may account for the basis of the article in question.)

Regarding the discrepancy noted by the Bureau in referenced communication concerning the number of copies of report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 2/26/73, entitled, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER, aka, EM - BPP", the correct number should have been an original and 8 copies of this report were prepared which would account for the correct number of copies as being 9.)

For the information of the Bureau, a newspaper source of the Winston-Salem Journal has advised that he learned that one of the members of the Winston-Salem Chapter of the BPP

-2-

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

approached HOWARD CARR, the reporter, concerning the information which appears in the article of 2/14/75, dealing with the BPP. This source did not know if this member had the original copy or a reproduction of SA LOWE's report, but that either CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER or his brother, JAMES, had seen the original report when it was shown to either one for his review. It appears that JAMES ZOLLICOFFER could well be the source of this information from SA LOWE's report since a copy of this report was made available to the U. S. Army in connection with their inquiry regarding him as was noted in referenced Bureau communication. This newspaper source is unable to furnish any additional information concerning who may have a copy of this report or if the writer would cooperate in any manner regarding the identification of the person furnishing report or any information concerning the BPP.

[REDACTED]

At the present time our coverage of the BPP is deemed adequate; however, in the event of any increase in BPP membership or activities, our coverage might be difficult since the disclosure of our use of informants in connection with the BPP.

RECOMMENDATION:

Charlotte recommends that every effort be made to first identify the individual who may have furnished a copy or reproduction of SA LOWE's report to HOWARD CARR, reporter for the Winston-Salem Journal. In this regard, Charlotte will determine if [REDACTED]

LHM will be promptly submitted to the Bureau to ascertain if JAMES ZOLLICOFFER was shown a copy of SA LOWE's report by military authorities. Based upon the outcome of this inquiry

-3-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

with the U. S. Army, consideration will be given to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

No recommendation is being made at this time to contacting the management of the Winston-Salem Journal until the foregoing is resolved.)

The Bureau will be fully apprised of the efforts to identify the individual responsible for furnishing copy or reproduction of SA LOWE's report to this newspaper.)

-4-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Hoover Would Have Been Proud

page, name of
er, city and state.)

Louis A. Giovanetti, an FBI man for 24 years, popped a Luden's cough drop into his mouth and let it be known that he did indeed watch THAT television show.

"Efrem Zimbalist Jr. (star of "The FBI" series) has done a lot for us. He portrayed what we like to think of as the image of FBI agents—attractive, professional and never a hint of any personal or professional impropriety.

"But he flew more helicopters in that series than I ever have"

Giovanetti, 51, is the new head of FBI operations in North Carolina. He was in Winston-Salem last week to speak to local lawmen about law enforcement.

Before his speech, he talked with a reporter in a room down the hall from the FBI office in the post office building.

At first glance, Giovanetti looks a bit like Zimbalist, with black hair brushed neatly back, a touch of gray around the regulation-short sideburns, and inconspicuous blue eyes and wearing an equally inconspicuous blue suit.

But after talking with Giovanetti, it seems more likely that Zimbalist was picked to look and act like Giovanetti.

From his unshakable loyalty to his organization and his country to his little tie tack with the FBI insignia on it, Giovanetti is the kind of agent J. Edgar Hoover could have had sweet dreams about.

And Giovanetti is proud of what he is.

"Becoming an FBI agent was sort of like a childhood dream for me," he said.

He became an agent in the early 1950s, after growing up in Massachusetts, flying for the Navy in World War II and graduating from Boston University.

Giovanetti moved to Charlotte in December to oversee almost "100 FBI agents in the state." His move was the latest part of a federal shuffle that moved him and his

1D WINSTON-SALEM
JOURNAL & SENTINEL
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Date: 2/16/75

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: CE

☐ Being Investigated

100-100000

family five times in the past 10 years.

His previous assignment was in Denver, Colo.

"You either become adjusted to moving or resign," he said.

Giovanetti became an agent during the J. Edgar Hoover regime, learning the ropes under Hoover men and teaching those ropes to others.

He followed bureau policy to the letter and when the policy was not to talk to newsmen, he didn't talk.

But when Hoover died and policy changed under new leaders, he followed that bureau policy.

"I haven't made a 'no comment' to a reporter in three years now."

The policy now is for openness, even on sensitive topics.

So he leaned his forehead against his hand and talked.

On the Patty Hearst case, for example:

"It's embarrassing. We haven't been faced with this problem in a long, long time; with an intelligent person stymieing the resources of perhaps the world's greatest investigative organization."

Or on recent charges that the FBI has compiled files on the personal lives of public figures:

"Ours is an intelligence-gathering function. If they (agents) receive information they think might be useful later on, it is their responsibility to index it."

But, he said, agents don't go after gossip.

Giovanetti said stories about the FBI compiling dossiers on Americans, and stories about the Central Intelligence Agency's activities here and abroad, have hurt the bureau.

But he said the FBI has never lacked for qualified applicants, and the bureau is still able to get "the cream of our young people, both men and women."

Turnover among the 8,600 agents is next to nothing, he said, and the standards for agents (a law or accounting degree) have not dropped.

"We start new agents at \$17,000 a year, and I think that's

comparable to what they could be making in business."

But Giovanetti harbors another worry about allegations against the FBI and the public hearings that will look into the bureau's operations.

He fears the hearings might provide too much information for spies.

Not subversives, or "foreign intelligence gatherers," but plain old spies, the kind the bureau has been after for years.

Here the hand came down from the forehead and he leaned forward.

"I can assure you that our adversaries in this world have not changed their goals."

The adversaries, he said, are still the Communist countries. And the tactic of planting spies in the United States is still a reality, he said.

"I'm not divulging anything when I say we know this is planned years and years in advance."

But here in North Carolina, the FBI is kept busy investigating the state's bank robberies: 67 last year and already 19 this year.

"We handle the cases from investigation through court," Giovanetti said.

He still has enough of a Boston accent to have agents following the case into "cot."

Most of Giovanetti's duties keep him office-bound, but he tries to get into action as often as possible.

Although he was not wearing his pistol when he was here, it was in his luggage: just in case . . .

"I've often tried to think of what I would have wanted to do if I hadn't been an agent," he said.

"I've never come up with an answer."

A laugh started somewhere behind that FBI tie tack, and worked its way up.



Louis A. Giovanetti is the new head of FBI operations in
North Carolina.

February 27, 1975

Mr. Joe Doster
Managing Editor
Winston-Salem Journal and
Sentinel
416-420 North Marshall Street
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 21701

Dear Mr. Doster:

I have read the article entitled "Hoover Would Have Been Proud" that appeared in your newspaper on February 16, 1975. This feature is a splendid introduction to your readers of the new Special Agent in Charge of the Charlotte FBI Office, Mr. Louis A. Civenetti.

I am indeed appreciative of your efforts and hope the FBI will continue to merit your support.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Clarence M. Kelley
Director

① - Charlotte

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 1 1975	
FBI - CHARLOTTE	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- 1 - Legal Counsel Division
- 1 - General Investigative Division
- 1 - External Affairs Division

Assoc. Dir. _____
Dep. AD Adm. _____
Dep. AD Inv. _____
Asst. Dir.: _____
Admin. _____
Comp. Syst. _____
Ext. Affairs _____
Files & Com. _____
Gen. Inv. _____
Ident. _____
Inspection _____
Intell. _____
Laboratory _____
Plan. & Eval. _____
Spec. Inv. _____
Training _____
Legal Coun. _____
Telephone Rm. _____
Director Sec'y _____

TO :

Mr. [REDACTED]

DATE: 3/17/75

FROM :

- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
- 1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

SUBJECT :

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
(CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
EXTREMIST MATTER

PURPOSE:

This is to recommend that inquiry be made of Headquarters, U. S. Army, in connection with investigation to identify the person(s) responsible for an FBI report falling into the hands of the Charlotte, North Carolina, Black Panther Party (BPP) and subsequently into the possession of a writer for The Winston-Salem Journal. To also recommend approval of attached airtel to Charlotte advising that Headquarters contact with Army is being made and instructing that investigative efforts should continue in the interim.

EX-110

BACKGROUND:

REC-5605-165706-8-749

On 2/26/73, SA Zachary T. Lowe, Charlotte Division, prepared a report concerning Charles Ray Zollicoffer who had been previously identified as a member of the BPP at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Of the nine copies of the report which were prepared, five copies were submitted to FBIHQ, one copy was furnished to Secret Service, Charlotte, and three copies were retained in the Charlotte Office. Inasmuch as all copies retained by the FBI (Headquarters and Charlotte) have been accounted for, of concern are those which were disseminated. Two were furnished to the Department, two to Secret Service (one each at Headquarters and in Charlotte, which copy was destroyed by Charlotte Secret Service shortly after receipt), and an additional copy was made at FBIHQ and furnished in April, 1973, to National Agency Check Center (NACC) for forwarding to the U. S. Army which had requested information concerning [REDACTED] 1976

Enclosures
105-165706

CONTINUED - OVER

WDF:yi/lfj/ekw
(8)

51 APR 08 1975
ENCLOSURE

WF

Memorandum to Mr. W. R. Wannall
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-155706

In the 2/14/75 edition of The Winston-Salem Journal appeared an article entitled "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers, Members Regarded As Possible Security Risks." The article generally discusses COINTELPRO activities against the BPP as disclosed in a document establishing COINTELPRO made public in March of 1974 by then Attorney General (AG) William Saxbe. It discusses the effect such tactics had on the BPP in North Carolina and questioned the FBI's need to continue BPP investigation. The article advised that in a report on Charles Zollicoffer "made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem Office, cited three informants - identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2 and CE T-3..." The language in the article pinpoints the communication from which information was taken as being the report on Charles Ray Zollicoffer dated 2/26/73.

Charlotte informants have advised that the report or a copy of it was furnished to The Winston-Salem Journal by unknown individuals associated with the BPP in Charlotte. [redacted] source advised that from comments made by him, Charles Ray Zollicoffer apparently had seen the report.

By airtel 2/6/75, Charlotte furnished an LHM, a copy of which is attached, setting forth details in this matter. SAC, Charlotte, recommends that Army be queried relative to [redacted]

A physical accounting for the report by Army was also suggested by Charlotte. The Charlotte proposal is that following resolution of above, and based upon those findings, Charlotte will conduct all other investigation toward resolving possible Theft of Government Property violation, including [redacted] if necessary.

Intelligence Division agrees with this proposal and the recommendation of Charlotte to not contact The Winston-Salem Journal, such contact being premature at this stage.

Above action and decision that future supervision in this matter will be handled by Intelligence Division, has been coordinated with [redacted] General Investigative Division.

CONTINUED - OVER

Memorandum to Mr. J. R. Wannall
Re: Black Panther Party
(Charlotte Division)
105-165706

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That Liaison Section, Intelligence Division, furnish copy of attached LHM to Headquarters, U. S. Army, for determination of matters mentioned above with respect to [REDACTED]

2. That attached airtel be approved and sent to SAC, Charlotte.

RECEIVED

JDC

Hester

JCA
RM



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
March 6, 1975

JAMES (NO MIDDLE NAME) ZOLLIFFER;
CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER
THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY MATTER

This investigation is predicated upon receipt of information that property belonging to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), specifically a report of Special Agent ZACHARY T. LOWE dated February 26, 1973, entitled, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER," may have been stolen and converted for the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 641, and/or Title 18, United States Code, Section 1024. ()

On February 26, 1973, ZACHARY T. LOWE, a Special Agent with the FBI, presently assigned to the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Resident Agency, prepared a report concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER, who had been previously identified as a member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. ()

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

Sources whose identities are concealed herein have furnished reliable information in the past except where otherwise noted.

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ENCLOSURE

711

[REDACTED]

4. Copies of Special Agent LOWE's report were thereafter disseminated to appropriate interested Federal agencies.

In the February 14, 1975, edition of The Winston-Salem Journal, a local newspaper published in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, appeared an article written by Staff Reporter HOWARD CARR and entitled, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers, Members Regarded as Possible Security Risks." CARR reported in the article that an FBI report dated February 26, 1973, on CHARLES ZOLLICOFFER, a member of the BPP, and written by ZACHARY T. LOWE, an Agent in the FBI's Winston-Salem Office, had been recently made available to the Journal and that the report contained information furnished by three informants. CARR also reported that the FBI file provided information concerning CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER's age, marital status, brothers' criminal records, and other pertinent information.

On [REDACTED] advised that the February 26, 1973, report of Special Agent LOWE, referred to in the February 14, 1975, newspaper article, had been furnished to the newspaper reporter by unknown individuals associated with the BPP and that the report had been obtained while an unnamed individual or individuals were reviewing certain undisclosed records. CE T-1 advised that it was unknown whether or not the report was the actual report available in the undisclosed records or a copy of that report.

On [REDACTED] advised that BPP members at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had made the report of Special Agent LOWE available to The Winston-Salem Journal.

On [REDACTED] advised that CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER appeared to be the most knowledgeable BPP member concerning the report of Special Agent LOWE, and it was apparent from comments made by CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER that he had seen the report and/or had the report in his possession.

[REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] advised that, during 1972, CHARLES RAY ZOLLICOFFER and his two brothers, JAMES ZOLLICOFFER and LEON ZOLLICOFFER, resided in an apartment on Bruce Street, near the Winston-Salem State University in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and that, while residing there,)

[REDACTED]

3,
1

A review of pertinent FBI records revealed that on April 13, 1973, a copy of Special Agent LOWE's report was furnished to the National Agency Check Center for forwarding to the United States Army based on the United States Army's request of the FBI for information concerning [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET2

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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105-165706-8-749 enclosure pages 4-5

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly-stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution. BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

Despite its claimed dedication to community service, indicators of the BPP's continued attraction to violence persist. Since July, 1974, Newton and other BPP members have been arrested in Oakland, California, for threatening police officers, murder of a 17-year old female and the pistol whipping of Newton's tailor. Newton failed to appear on these charges and is now a local fugitive. Additionally, one died and three were wounded as a result of a shooting at a BPP-sponsored dance in Oakland, California, in October, 1974.

1 - Counsel Division
1 - General Investigative Division
1 - External Affairs Division
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Airtel

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

3/21/75

From: Director, FBI (105-165706)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EM

ReCEairtel & LHM 3/6/75 and CEairtel 3/4/75. U

Resolution of information requested in your airtel 3/6/75 is being handled at FBIHQ through liaison with Headquarters, U. S. Army. You will be furnished results of the inquiry with Army at which time direction future investigation in this matter should follow will be more clearly defined. In the interim, you should make every effort to develop information through informants to determine how the report in question came to be in the possession of Black Panther Party (BPP) members in Charlotte.

FBIHQ agrees that contact with anyone at The Winston-Salem Journal would be premature at this point, and should not be made. Ensure FBIHQ is kept apprised of pertinent developments.

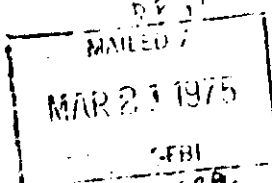
1 - Charlotte [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

WDF:yi/lfi
(12)

NOTE:

See memorandum [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] 3/17/75, captioned "Black Panther Party (Charlotte Division), Extremist Matter," prepared by WDF:yi/lfi. Above has been coordinated with Supervisor [REDACTED] General Investigative Division.



54 APR 04 1975

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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105-165706-8-747

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F B I

Date: 3/6/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 2/14/75; Bureau
 airtel to Charlotte, 2/27/75; and Charlotte airtel to Bureau,
 3/4/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM
 captioned, [REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Identity

Location

4 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 1 (2 - 105-165706-Sub 8)

4 - Charlotte
 (2 - 157-6171)

Agency:
 Dept.

SAC CHARLOTTE

Date: 3/6/75

ZTL:stp
 (8)

How forwarded: RLSDate: MAR 11 1975By: WDF/hhDate: 4 APR 7 1975

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

REQUESTS OF THE BUREAU:

The Bureau is requested to determine through U. S. ()
Army the following:

[REDACTED]

(3) Determine whether or not the report of SA LOWE
is still in existence under military control and its present ()
location.

LEADS:CHARLOTTE:AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

[REDACTED]

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
March 6, 1975

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 641, and/or Title 18, United States Code, Section 1024.

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100-110000-1000
100-110000-1000

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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105-165706-8-746 pages 4-5 (enclosure)

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly-stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution. BPP national headquarters, aka Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, is located in Oakland, California.

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F B I

Date: 2/25/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: *S/A* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 EM - BPP

Re Charlotte nitel to the Bureau 1/21/75, Bureau airtel to Charlotte 1/27/75, and New York nitel to the Bureau 1/28/75.

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of LHM dated and captioned as above. Enclosed for San Francisco and New York are three copies each of LHM.

INFORMANTS

REC 17 105-165706-8-245

IDENTITYLOCATION

CE T-1 is a well-placed
 source

EX-110

FEB 28 1975

ENCLOSURE

2-Bureau (Encs. 5)
 3-New York (2-100-161993) (Encs. 3)

3-San Francisco (2-157-1204) (Encs. 3)

2-Charlotte

ZTL:jeb
 (10)

(Info)

(Info)

100-55
 100-155
 100-466-3
 100-7

APR 12 1975
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

February 25, 1975

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
EXTREMIST MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On January 21, 1975, CE T-1, whose reliability is () unknown, furnished the following information:

The National Episcopal Church (NEC) headquartered in New York City, New York, has tentatively approved a grant to the Black Panther Party (BPP) at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for use in the continuation of the BPP sponsored Free Ambulance Program. The NEC previously gave the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, \$35,700 for implementation of a free ambulance service and unconfirmed report sets the present request of the BPP at \$42,000; however, the approved figure is far less than the amount requested by the BPP (the exact figure not known at this time).

V A recommendation from the Bishop of the North Carolina Diocese is required by February 15, 1975, for final approval of the grant from the NEC. The Bishop of the North Carolina Diocese will make a recommendation after receipt of a committee survey in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, of the present ambulance service operation. Additionally, an investigator from the NEC in New York is presently in Winston-Salem for evaluation of the ambulance program. This NEC investigator, EARL ALBERT NEIL, appears closely associated with the BPP and particularly LARRY LITTLE, a present member of the BPP and former leader of the BPP in Winston-Salem.

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RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

Source whose identity is
concealed herein has furnished
reliable information in the past
except where otherwise noted.

77

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is (1) attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

At a news conference held at BPP Headquarters in Winston-Salem on January 20, 1975, NEIL announced support for the BPP and its ambulance program prior to conducting any investigation or meeting with local church officials. NEIL is described as a Negro male, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NEIL was allegedly the Rector at Saint Augustine's Episcopal Church, 2624 West Street, Oakland, California, from 1967 through 1974.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

The Black Panther Party (BPP), organized in December, 1966, at Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby George Seale, has the publicly stated purpose of organizing black people to take control of the life, politics, and destiny of the black community. The Party, operating the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, publishes a newspaper called "The Black Panther," which at one time openly advocated the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a revolutionary program to end the oppression of the black people but since early 1971 has spoken for a survival program pending revolution.

While openly advocating direct overthrow of the U. S. Government by force and violence until 1971, leaders have since avoided extreme statements in favor of calling for action within the established order. Newton, in an interview appearing in the May, 1973, issue of "Playboy" magazine, stated the Panthers' chief ambition is to change the American Government by any means necessary but that ultimately such change will be through armed violence.

BPP national headquarters, also known as Black Panther Intercommunal Headquarters, as of May, 1974, continued to be located in Oakland, California, with branches throughout the country.

APPENDIX

Airtel

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Charlotte Field Guidance
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] 2/27/75

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

From: Director, FBI (105-165706)-8-744

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
EM

PERSONAL ATTENTION

ReCEairtel 2/14/75.

Reairtel stated that information from Charlotte report of SA Zachary T. Lowe dated 2/26/73 captioned "Charles Ray Zollicoffer, aka, EM-BPP," appeared in an article in the 2/14/75 issue of the "Winston-Salem Journal," a Winston-Salem, North Carolina, daily newspaper. The article written by Howard Carr, states that the FBI file was recently made available to the Journal.

Reairtel did not contain your recommendations as to action to be taken as a result of the "Winston-Salem Journal" acquiring access to this report.

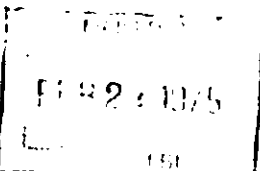
Immediately furnish FBIHQ with your recommendations in this regard. Include identities and results of indices checks regarding the "Winston-Salem Journal's" editor; publisher; and Carr. Also, include assessment of current relations between your office and the "Winston-Salem Journal."

Bureau files contain no references to Howard Carr; however, one [REDACTED] requested information on the Bureau's Top Ten fugitive program by letter in 8/72.

JPG:ekw
(7)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y



61M/R07
MAIL ROOM [] TELETYPE UNIT []

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

Airtel to SAC, Charlotte
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
105-165706

For your information, on 3/7/73 FBIHQ disseminated two copies of report in question to the Department of Justice, one copy was disseminated to Secret Service Headquarters, Washington, D. C., one copy was placed in file, and one copy was apparently destroyed. On 4/13/73, a copy was made and furnished to National Agency Check Center (NACC) for forwarding to the U. S. Army which had requested information concerning

[REDACTED]

Reairtel stated that original and seven copies of report were prepared; however, your itemization (five submitted to the Bureau, one copy for Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina, and three copies retained in the Charlotte file) would account for nine copies. Resolve this discrepancy.

NOTE: The "Winston-Salem Journal" article captioned "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers" contained the statement "In a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an Agent in the Winston-Salem Office, cited three informants - identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2, and CE T-3 - in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here. The cover sheet on the Feb. 23, 1973, report said 'all sources...whose identities are concealed in referenced communication, have furnished reliable information in the past.'" The cover sheet referred to is believed to be an FD-323, use of which has been discontinued. Report in question is an unclassified document. Information attributed to the report is accurate and it is apparent that the "Winston-Salem Journal" had access to the report. Charlotte reported that contact with Secret Service, Charlotte, North Carolina, revealed that copy received by it had been destroyed by shredding shortly after being received. Bureau files reflect that cordial relations existed with the "Winston-Salem Journal" prior to 10/69; however, since then numerous critical editorials of the FBI and former Director Hoover have appeared.

F B I

Date: 2/14/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 EM

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2 copies of a newspaper article captioned, "FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers", which appeared in the February 14, 1975, issue of the Winston-Salem Journal, a Winston-Salem, N. C., daily newspaper. It is noted that this article states, "In a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem office, cited three informants -- identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2, and CE T-3 -- in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here."

Charlotte files disclose that information in this article was taken from Charlotte report of SA ZACHARY T. LOWE dated 2/26/73, in case captioned, "CHARLES RAY ZOLLIFFER, aka EM - BPP", Bufile 157-28102. Charlotte file indicates that original and 7 copies of this report were prepared, 5 of which were submitted to the Bureau, one copy was designated for U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C., and 3 copies were retained in the Charlotte file. These 3 Charlotte copies are presently located in the Charlotte file on ZOLLIFFER.

On 2/14/75, contact was had with Mr. [REDACTED], U. S. Secret Service, Charlotte, N. C., at which time he advised that the copy of this report designated for his office had been destroyed by shredding shortly after it was received in his office. He stated that it is his practice to review these reports as they come in to determine if there is any direct interest to his office. They are then reviewed by SA [REDACTED]

(3) - Bureau (Enc. 2) ENCLOSURE
 (1 - 157-28102) REC 17/05-165706-8-75
 3 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6171) LA-101

GHC:cbw
 (6)

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

also of his office, after which they are shredded by SA [REDACTED] if they contain no information of direct interest to his office. In this case, this report on ZOLLICOFFER was destroyed by shredding. (1)

The above information and this newspaper article are being submitted for the Bureau's appropriate attention and discretion as to what action the Bureau may desire to take. (1)

No further action is being taken by Charlotte pending receipt of advice from the Bureau. (1)

-2-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI Still Hovers Over Panthers

Members Regarded as Possible Security Risks

By Howard Carr

Staff Writer

Despite the changes in both organizations over the past five years, the Federal Bureau of Investigation is still keeping a fairly close watch on the small chapter of the Black Panther Party here.

Panthers here call the FBI's activities—which include questioning Panther supporters and keeping files on Panther leaders—harassment, and say it has scared off many potential members and contributors.

But Louis A. Giovannetti, the special agent in charge of the Charlotte FBI office, says the Panthers "are not a group we're particularly concerned with. Our policy toward them is the same as toward any group that has indicated dissatisfaction with the present system."

Giovannetti said that "if we are talking to people, and I'm sure we are, we certainly don't intend it as harassment. Any person can decline to talk to us, and we're not in a position to force them to talk."

Jimmy Brinkley, a local man who knows some Panthers here, said in a recent interview that the FBI inquired about him last year at several places—including a jewelry store where he owed money—before finally interviewing him.

"The guy wanted to know if the Panthers were still a revolutionary group—and if I were violent," Brinkley recalled. "Most of the questions he asked he already knew the answers to—he'd ask how the ambulance service was coming along, and then he'd come right back and ask 'What do you think about Larry (Little)'?"

Mrs. Phyllis Cornell, the wife of Julius Cornell, a former Panther here, said two agents stopped by her home "in the latter part of last winter, right before the primary. They asked what was going on up here, mostly political questions, but I just told them to go ask Larry."

The FBI has at least a rudimentary informant network, in a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal. Zachary T. Lowe, an agent in the Winston-Salem office, cited three informants—identified only as CE T-1, CE T-2 and CE T-3—in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here.

The cover sheet on the Feb. 28, 1972, report said "all sources... whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable

provided for Lowe's three-page report was correct but superficial: Zollicoffer's age, marital status, his brothers' criminal records and the fact that "he was selected for 'Who's Who' among high school students."

However, even the Panthers admit that the surveillance is not as thorough as it was five or six years ago, when J. Edgar Hoover called the Panthers "the most dangerous organization in the United States." And Panther rhetoric has cooled since December, 1969, when Little wrote an article for the Black Panther newspaper in which he referred to the late FBI director as "J. Edgar Hog."

This was shortly after the beginning of the COINTELPRO—short for counterintelligence program—which the FBI directed against black organizations between 1967 and 1971. The memo which established the black COINTELPRO—made public last March by Atty. Gen. William B. Saxbe—listed as its goals "to expose, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings." Another declassified FBI memo, issued May 11, 1970, included a section on "a disruptive-disinformation operation" which would supply Black Panthers with confusing, fictitious information through phony police and FBI sources.

"The Bureau," concludes the memo, which was quoted in an issue of The Nation last June, "believes with careful planning this technique has excellent long-range potential to disrupt and curtail Panther activity."

Such operations were apparently often carried out by the FBI. A report on the seven different COINTELPRO programs issued last November by the Justice Department—and reported in Time magazine—said that of 2,370 acts of counterintelligence against all kinds of militant groups, "40 per cent of the total involved sending anonymous or fictitious materials to organizations with the hope of confusing their activities."

Little, the director of Panther political affairs here, charges that the 1970 memo was the basis for the series of anonymous letters circulated here in 1970-71. He says that another series of letters that circulated about the same time was forged.

One such letter, postmarked in Memphis, Cal., apparently Xeroxed from a piece of stationery with a Panther letterhead, said that Little "is hereby found to be a coward, a liar, and worst of all, a thief of the

Black Panther Party feels that disbandment of the N.C.C.F. (National Committee to Combat Fascism)—the name the chapter here was going by then.) can only be in order."

The letter, a copy of which is in Panther files here, was signed by several Panther officials, but Little says the names typed below their signatures were obviously typed on a different typewriter from the section on Little.

Another letter, mailed in Winston-Salem Jan. 29, 1971, and quoted in the Journal and Sentinel Feb. 14, 1971, urged anyone interested in helping blacks not to donate "to the Black Panther Party since they are using your money and goods for their own benefit and not that of the black community." The unsigned letter also referred to the Panthers as "avaricious individuals" preying on the community.

According to the Associated Press, COINTELPRO was discontinued in April, 1971. Little says that's about the time the letters stopped, although there's no concrete way to determine if the two are related. Giovannetti, who has been assigned to North Carolina for only a few months, says he typed about COINTELPRO in the newspaper, but says he has no information on any specifics of the program in North Carolina.

If the government is less concerned about the Panthers than it once was, it still apparently regards any associates of the party as possible security risks. A white man whose company does government defense work said in a recent interview that he was questioned by "federal agents" about the Panthers last fall when he was being considered for a higher security clearance. After answering a series of questions about a relative's relationship with the Panthers, the man said, he was eventually granted the new clearance.

Giovannetti says the FBI no longer conducts many security clearance investigations, but "is willing to make information available to other government agencies who are conducting an investigation."

Panthers here say their new constitution prohibits them from breaking the law, that the FBI knows this but continues its surveillance to undercut the popularity they have built through their year-old ambulance service.

Giovannetti disagrees. "We think deeds speak louder than words," he says. "Depending on any actions or statements they make, our attitude could change. But let me now I'll stand on my statement:

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The FBI has at least a rudimentary informant network (a confidential FBI file which was recently made available to the Journal, February 1, 1975, on an agent in the Winston-Salem office, listed there in the form — identified only as C-1, C-2, C-3 and C-4 — in a report on Charles Zollicoffer, a member of the chapter here.

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WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
Winston-Salem, N. C.
February 14, 1975
ENCLOSURE

MAR 6 1976

105-765706-8 744

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 2/25/75

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
11 - BPP

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 10/25/74;
Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 1/8/75; and Charlotte
report of SA [REDACTED] dated 2/4/75, entitled
[REDACTED]

For information of the Bureau, referenced
Charlotte airtel on 1/8/75 advised that the Free Ambulance
Program at Winston-Salem, N. C., was continuing and the
Black Panther Party at Winston-Salem was not making any
further plans to dismantle BPP headquarters and move to
Oakland, California. Referenced Charlotte report [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] contained information regarding LITTLE's travel
and advised LITTLE is presently in Winston-Salem, N. C.,
where he anticipates continuing to assist the BPP's sponsored
Free Ambulance Program.

To date, no additional information has been
received from logical sources regarding any renewed plans
to dismantle BPP Headquarters or BPP members traveling to
Oakland, California. It appears that previous discussions
regarding the Winston-Salem Chapter's move were short lived,
and no dissemination of these discussions is being made.

Charlotte is continuing to follow this matter;
and should an actual move by BPP members or BPP Headquarters
begin, the Bureau and appropriate offices will be advised
and LHM for dissemination will be prepared.

- 1 - 4063.
2 - Bureau
1 - San Francisco (Info) (157-1204)
2 - Charlotte

CTL:rep
(5)

REC 44

105-165706-8-743

FEB 28 1975



MAK 07 1975 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AIRTEL

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

1/27/75

From: Director, FBI (105-165706) - *8-742* - Charlotte Field Guidance

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EM

ReCEnitel 1/21/75.

Referenced nitel not suitable for dissemination for the following reasons:

Confidential source incorrectly evaluated as "a source in position to know" and source's identity was not furnished in the Administrative Section. Manual of Rules and Regulations, Section 4, page 20, provides instructions regarding the proper terminology to be used in evaluating informants.

Black Panther Party and Larry Little, mentioned therein, were not characterized.

Additionally, the character "EM" was not set forth in title.

Promptly resubmit information contained in referenced nitel in LHM form. Score error of form against responsible supervisory and Agent personnel.

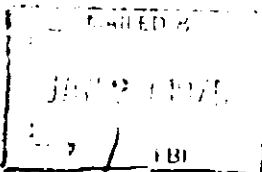
1 - New York
1 - San Francisco

JPG:ekw/med
(8)

NOTE:

Referenced nitel not being corrected and disseminated at FBIHQ since the Charlotte source is not known and, therefore, no statement can be made as to reliability.

Assoc. Dir.
Dep. AD Adm.
Dep. AD Inv.
Asst. Dir.:
Admin.
Comp. Syst.
Ext. Affairs
Files & Com.
Gen. Inv.
Ident.
Inspection
Intell.
Laboratory
Plan. & Eval.
Spec. Inv.
Training
Legal Coun.
Telephone Rm.
Director's Sec'y



TELETYPE UNIT []

51 FEB 10 1975

SFP
WF

PAGE TWO.

CE 157-6171

ANNOUNCED SUPPORT FOR BPP ON JANUARY 20, 1975, AT PUBLIC NEWS
CONFERENCE IN WINSTON-SALEM PRIOR TO CONDUCTING INVESTIGATION
OR MEETING WITH LOCAL CHURCH OFFICIALS. NEIL, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] ALLEGEDLY WAS RECTOR AT ST. AUGUSTINE'S EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, 2624 WEST STREET, OAKLAND, CALIF., FROM 1967 THROUGH,
1974.

AIRMAIL COPIES BEING FURNISHED BUREAU AND NEW YORK.

END. X

JAC FBIHQ CLR

F B I

Date: 1/8/75

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: *G/k* SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: *H* BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 QUARTERLY SUMMARY
 EM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 10/4/74. *U*PART IThe following information was obtained or confirmed
by Organization and StatusThe Black Panther Party (BPP), Winston-Salem, N. C.,
Headquarters is located at 1333 North Patterson Avenue. *U*Membership *109*

REC-35

Assigned 9
 In Jail 2
 Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere . . 2
 Total Active in Charlotte
 Division 5 *U*

Community Workers5 (estimated) *U*

JAN 10 1975

2 - Bureau
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
 2 - Charlotte

ZTL:rep
 (6)

FIVE

Approved: *54 J*
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

LeadershipNELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.
Field LieutenantLARRY DONNELL LITTLE
Director of Public RelationsCHARLES ZOLLIFFER
Director of the Free Ambulance ProgramMARIE MOORE
Treasurer and Second in CommandBEATRICE FULTON
SecretaryBPP Pads1333 North Patterson Avenue
Winston-Salem, North Carolina1106-D East 19th Street
Winston-Salem, North CarolinaCommunity ActivitiesA. Free Clothing Program

Not operational

B. Free Pest Control Program

Not operational

C. Free Breakfast for Children Program

Not operational

- 2 -

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

U.S. Government Printing Office: 1972 - 455-574